THE

APPENDIX:

OR, SOME

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

Expediency of the PETITION of the AFRICANS, living in BOSTON, &c. lately presented to the GENERAL ASSEMBLY of this Province.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED,

The PETITION referred to.

LIKEWISE,

THOUGHTS on SLAVERY. With a useful EXTRACT from the Massachusetts Spy of January 28, 1773, by way of an Address to the MEMBERS of the ASSEMBLY.

By a Lover of Constitutional LIBERTY.

BOSTON: N. E.

Printed and Sold by E. RUSSELL, adjoining the Court-House in Union-Street.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE

APPENDIX:

OR,

OBSERVATIONS, &c.

He that ſtealeth and ſelleth a Man ſhall ſurely be put to Death.

EXODUS.

I WAS lately looking into a ſmall Treatiſe, wrote by Mr. JAMES SWAN, a Native of *Great-Britain*, entitled, "A Diſſuaſion to "*Great-Britain*, and her Colonies, from the "*Slave-Trade*," and after peruſing the ſame, I readily paſſed over with Candour ſome ſmall Errors in the Diction of the ſame, occaſioned by the neceſſary Abſence of the Gentleman to whom it was committed by the Author to correct,* which have

* Since the Publication of the Diſſuaſion, there has been an Errata printed, which is affixed to the few Copies yet unſold.

have ſo induſtriouſly been made a handle of by many, who, we may juſtly ſuppoſe are Enemies to the *Liberties* of Mankind, and give their Opinions more from Prejudice and ſordid Self-intereſt, than from an honeſt unbiaſſed Regard to the Rights of the Subject.

THE cloſe reaſoning and diſintereſted Attachment ſhewn by our young Author, throughout the whole of this uſeful Tract, for the Cauſe of *Freedom*, ought not to be paſſed over in Silence; and I am aſtoniſhed ſo many of our Patrons for Liberty ſhould be ſilent in this Reſpect. I muſt ſurely join with our Author in that Sentence towards the cloſe of his Performance, "That the Will to do a good Action is next in order to the Action itſelf."

THE Cauſe is good! The aboliſhing ſo baſe and ſcandalous a Trade, which reflects the higheſt Diſgrace on any People, much more th ſe who *wear* the Chriſtian Name, ought to be taken into the ſerious Conſideration of our wiſe LEGISLATORS, who I truſt and heartily wiſh may take this Matter under their immediate Cognizance.

FOR this People to be *talking* of *Liberty*, and, at the ſame Time to continue importing and making *Slaves* of whole Cargoes of their Fellow Creatures, muſt, I think, be judged by thoſe, who allow themſelves to think freely, a Solæciſm in Language.

I WOULD aſk thoſe mighty Sticklers for *Slavery*, Whether the *Africans* were not born as free as *Britiſh* Subjects? If ſo, are they not juſtly entitled to, and may they not expect, both by the Laws of GOD and Man, to inherit and poſſeſs every Priviledge which we enjoy? Is

not

not this diabolical and mercenary Trade of *Man-ſtealing* or *Slave-making*, as expreſſly againſt the Laws of GOD, as it is repugnant to the CHARTER of this Province, which muſt be deemed the great Bulwark and Support of our *Liberty* ?

BUT how ſhocking the Thought ! That ſo many of our Brethren ſhould remain in perpetual *Slavery !* Nature recoils at it ! But true it is, that Millions of theſe diſtreſſed People are under this cruel Yoak ; many of them, I am ſorry and even bluſh to ſay it, are among us, a People *profeſſing* to fear GOD and hate Covetouſneſs ! But let it not be told in *New-England !* Publiſh it not in the Streets of *America*, that any of theſe People are yet held in *Bondage* ! Cry aloud, ye Fathers of the People, I mean the Stewards in GOD's Houſhold ! who muſt ſhortly give an Account of your Stewardſhip ! Spare not to tell the People of their groſs Iniquity in this Reſpect ! Aſk yourſelves, Whether you have borne public Teſtimony againſt ſuch abominable Practices as thoſe of *Man-ſtealing* and *Slave-making* ? Ye Judges of the Earth ! Is it not your Duty likewiſe to bear Teſtimony againſt ſuch vile Proceedings, when you are giving your Charge to the Grand Juries !

IT muſt afford the higheſt Satisfaction to every Friend of Mankind, to hear that a Petition is laid before the *General Aſſembly* now ſetting in *Boſton*, in favour of theſe poor oppreſſed *Black People*, who are continually groaning under the heavy Yoak of *Slavery* ; many of whom are uſed in a cruel Manner by ſome, who *call* themſelves Chriſtians, and who *pretend* they buy them in order to inſtruct them in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, however contrary to which they may behave in this Reſpect, if they are not faulty in any other.

GREAT

GREAT Succeſs is expected from this Petition, ſince THOSE, who are the Guardians of our Rights, are led and influenced by the true Principles of *Liberty*, and a ſincere Deſire to promote the good of Mankind: But ſhould any (as doubtleſs ſome of the *Aſſembly* are Owners of *Slaves*) be influenced by oppoſite Motives, that of a mercenary Thirſt after Money, I ſhould be ſorry.

BUT I would hope better Things of thoſe worthy *Gentlemen*, many of whom in Times paſt, to their immortal Honor be it ſpoken, have diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their ſteady and diſintereſted Conduct and firm Attachment to the Conſtitution; whoſe noble and patriotic Reſolves will hand their Names down to Generations yet unborn, who will read them with Applauſe.

SHOULD thoſe *Slaves* fail of Succeſs in petitioning the *General Aſſembly*, may they not ſeek another Way of Redreſs, namely, by ſuing for their Services? I am well informed there have been Numbers freed in ſeveral Country Towns, and heartily wiſh others may meet with the ſame Succeſs, who may hereafter ſeek this laſt Method of Redreſs, when every other ſhall fail them.

WHAT pity it is, that every Town did not inſtruct their Repreſentatives, relative to this moſt intereſting and important Subject, when they lately took into their Conſideration ſome other weighty Matters, in regard to Freedom, and the Infringements that have been made on the Conſtitution.

HAD ſuch Inſtructions been committed to thoſe Gentlemen, who are the Guardians and Patrons of *Liberty*, it might, perhaps, have had a ſalutary Effect

in

in promoting: ſo deſirable a Meaſure, and greatly tended to relive thoſe oppreſſed *Black People* from *Bondage*.

HOWEVER, I truſt the Reſolutions lately come into by this, as well as many of our worthy and patriotic Country Towns in this Province, will ſufficiently juſtify the Expediency as well as abſolute Neceſſity of the before-mentioned *Petition* of Grievance, and may anſwer a valuable Purpoſe, in effecting a Redreſs although it may be objected to by many who are making unjuſt Gain by wickedly detaining theſe People in *Slavery*.

MANY will object to the freeing the *Slaves* among us, by ſaying, If they are ſet at Liberty they will turn Vagrants, and thereby become a Peſt to Society; that our Streets will be filled with Robbers, Houſe-breakers, *&c.* In Anſwer to which I would aſk this Queſtion, What Right had we to bring thoſe People among us, or to encourage ſo iniquitous a Trade? Surely, if we had not a Right to bring them from their own Country, (which I am certain no one can diſpute) they ought to be returned thereto, at the publicExpence, if they chuſe it, which, doubtleſs, would be the Caſe with many. But thoſe who chuſe to tarry in this Country after they are ſet at Liberty, we doubt not would in general behave well; if they ſhould not, it muſt be remembered, they are ſubject to the Common Law of the Land.

SHOULD ſuch an Event take Place, (I mean ſetting at *liberty* thoſe who are *bound*, it would ſurely ſerve to ſhew, that, inſtead of being *pretended* Friends to *Liberty*, we are *really hearty* for the general and unalienable Rights of Mankind.

A LOVER OF TRUE LIBERTY.

Province of the MASSACHUSETTS-BAY.

To his Excellency
THOMAS HUTCHINSON, Esq;
GOVERNOR;
To the Honorable
His Majesty's COUNCIL, and
To the Honorable House of REPRESENTATIVES in General Court assembled at BOSTON, the 6th Day of *January*, 1773.

The humble PETITION of many SLAVES, living in the Town of BOSTON, and other Towns in the Province is this, namely,

THAT your EXCELLENCY and Honors, and the Honorable the Representatives would be pleased to take their unhappy State and Condition under your wise and just Consideration.

WE desire to bless GOD, who loves Mankind, who sent his Son to die for their Salvation, and who is no Respecter of Persons; that he hath lately put it into the Hearts of Multitudes on both Sides of the Water, to bear our Burthens, some of whom are Men of great Note and Influence; who have pleaded our Cause with Arguments which we hope will have their weight with this Honorable Court.

WE presume not to dictate to your EXCELLENCY and Honors, being willing to rest our Cause on your Humanity and Justice; yet would beg Leave to say a Word or two on the Subject.

ALTHOUGH some of the Negroes are vicious, (who doubtless may be punished and restrained by the same Laws which are in Force against other of the King's Subjects) there are many others of a quite different Character, and who,

if made free, would ſoon be able as well as willing to bear a Part in the Public Charges; many of them of good natural Parts, are diſcreet, ſober, honeſt, and induſtrious; and may it not be ſaid of many, that they are virtuous and religious, although their Condition is in itſelf ſo unfriendly to Religion, and every moral Virtue except *Patience*. How many of that Number have there been, and now are in this Province, who have had every Day of their Lives imbittered with this moſt intolerable Reflection, That, let their Behaviour be what it will, neither they, nor their Children to all Generations, ſhall ever be able to do, or to poſſeſs and enjoy any Thing, no, not even *Life itſelf*, but in a Manner as the *Beaſts that perish*.

We have no Property! We have no Wives! No Children! We have no City! No Country! But we have a Father in Heaven, and we are determined, as far as his Grace ſhall enable us, and as far as our degraded contemptuous Life will admit, to keep all his Commandments: Eſpecially will we be obedient to our Maſters, ſo long as God in his ſovereign Providence ſhall *ſuffer* us to be holden in Bondage.

It would be impudent, if not preſumptuous in us to ſuggeſt to your Excellency and Honors any New or Laws proper to be made, in relation to our unhappy State, which, although our greateſt Unhappineſs, is not our *Fault*; and this gives us great Encouragement to pray and hope for ſuch Relief as is conſiſtent with your Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Goodneſs.

We think ourſelves very happy, that we may thus addreſs the Great and General Court of this Province,

Province, which great and good Court is to us, the beſt Judge, under GOD, of what is wiſe, juſt, and good.

WE humbly beg Leave to add but this one Thing more: We pray for ſuch Relief only, which by no Poſſibility can ever be productive of the leaſt Wrong or Injury to our Maſters; but to us will be as Life from the dead.

Signed, FELIX.

Thoughts on SLAVERY.

Friend, Parent, Neighbour, firſt I will imbrace,
My Country next, and next all human Race.

POPE.

WISE and good Men in all Ages have celebrated Patriotiſm as a Virtue of the firſt Magnitude, and all Men who ſhine in the Liſt of Fame are renowned for Humanity, or a benevolent Regard to *all* their Fellow Men, this is one of the brighteſt Jewels in their Crown of Glory; and without this no Man will ever enter the Temple of Fame below, nor the Gates of Heaven above. Animated with this Principle, I would plead for Juſtice in behalf of the moſt unhappy Part of our Species—the Negroes. This People have been treated in a Manner which diſgraces Humanity and the Laws of Heaven; and all the ſacred Ties of Nature, Reaſon, and Conſcience have been violated to rob this poor People of the Gifts of GOD!

SOME

Some feeble Efforts have of late been made to juſtify the black and enormous Crimes above mentioned, but Reaſon and Conſcience mock their vain Attempts, while the Saviour and Judge of the World condemns them and their Cauſe with this eternal Rule of Righteouſneſs, *Whatſoever ye would that Men ſhould do unto you, do ye even ſo to them.* With this Golden Rule before him, what Chriſtian can countenance the *enſlaving* his Fellow Men? By this Practice of *Slave-making*, every Principle of Juſtice, Humanity, and Righteouſneſs is flagrantly violated; and for ſuch Iniquity we have the utmoſt Reaſon to expect that God will viſit us with his righteous Judgments.

To avert thoſe deſerved Judgments, it is hoped the patriotic Legiſlature of this Province, will in their preſent Seſſion make a Law to prevent the Importation of any more *Slaves* into this Government: And alſo adopt ſome Method to relieve thoſe who are now in *Bondage* in the Province. Unleſs we *deal juſtly and love Mercy*, we cannot expect any Thing but the Frowns of that God who *loveth Righteouſneſs*.

The word of God commands us to give Honor to whom Honor is due, and ſurely it is not due to any more than to thoſe who relieve the oppreſſed, and give *Liberty* to them who are in *Bondage*: We deſire therefore to mention two honorable Gentlemen who have, from Chriſtian Principles of *Liberty*, given *Freedom* to their *Slaves*, viz. Mr. Robert Pierpont of *Boſton*, and Major Fuller of *Newton*. May their noble Example be imitated by all Chriſtians, and the Bleſſings of Heaven deſcend on them and on all who do likewiſe.

The Sons of Africa.

The following Piece is taken from the MASSACHUSETTS SPY, of Thurſday, *January* 28, 1773, having been abridged and corrected by the Author.

To the MEMBERS of the GENERAL COURT, aſſembled at BOSTON, the 6th Inſtant.

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING ſeen a Petition that is intended to be laid before you, in the Name of many *Slaves*, living in *Boſton* and other Towns in the Province, praying, That you would be pleaſed to take their unhappy State and Condition under Conſideration, and give them ſuch Relief as is conſiſtent with your Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Goodneſs. I am led to make a few Obſervations on the Subject, which I hope may not be unuſeful, previous to your taking it up.

FIRST. I would beg leave to remark, That we have been for a Number of Years contending and ſtruggling for the recovery of our natural and Charter Rights, and yet never appeared to conſider that we act in direct Oppoſition thereto. It is thus declared in the Charter, *viz*, "And further "Our Will and Pleaſure is, and we do here- "by for Us, Our Heirs, and Succeſſors, grant, "eſtabliſh, and Ordain, that all and every of "the Subjects of Us, Our Heirs, and Succeſſors, "which ſhall go to and inhabit within our ſaid "Province and Territory and every of their Chil- "dren which ſhall happen to be born there, or "on the Seas in going thither, or returning from "thence, ſhall have and enjoy all Liberties "and

"and Immunities of *free* and natural Subjects "within any of the Dominions of Us, Our "Heirs, and Succeſſors, to all Intents, Conſtruc- "tions, and Purpoſes whatſoever, as if they and "every of them were born within this Our Realm of "*England*," which at once throws down all Foundation to ſupport any Laws of the Province allowing the keeping *Slaves*. I always underſtood (I hope I am not miſtaken) that no Laws could be enacted contrary to the Charter, and it is plain that at the granting it, there was an Intent, that all People who ſhould *ever* inhabit within the Province, ſhould enjoy the ſame *Liberties* and *Privileges* as if in *England*: And, by a late memorable Caſe determined at the higheſt Court of Common Law at Home, it was decreed, That *no Perſon can be held as a Slave, otherwiſe than by an expreſs Law of the Country he lives in*, and that there is any ſuch Law in the Province of the *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*, I abſolutely deny; therefore, I conceive you cannot in juſtice to the Negroes, your own Conſciences, and the Spirit and Intention of the Charter, find that they are juſtly and legally kept in *Bondage*, or that they ſhall be ſo in future.

SECONDLY, I would obſerve, for the further clearing up the Injuſtice of the Practice of making *Slaves* here, which has given ſo much real Cauſe of Complaint for Years paſt, that it is expreſſly againſt the Laws of GOD, which are of higher Obligation than thoſe of Nations or Provinces, as is mentioned in *Exod.* xxi. 16. *Levit.* &c.

THIRDLY,

THIRDLY. It is incompatible with the Laws which CHRIST delivered, concerning our Duty one to another, and which is agreeable to the Rules of Nature and Society, *To do unto others as we would they ſhould do to us*;" If I could content myſelf to be placed in the ſame Situation with thoſe Blacks, without murmuring or Diſcontent, I am ſure I ſhould be the very laſt Perſon who would wiſh them freed: But as the very Idea of *Slavery* is ſo deteſtable to every generous Mind; and as we hear daily of Town Meetings, and conſulting upon the Infringements that have been lately made upon our natural and Charter Rights, and paſſing Reſolves to that Effect, pray what can we think of ourſelves, when there is hardly a Head of a Family but has one or more Examples of *Bondage* in his Houſe.

WHEN the Petition comes before you, I hope, as I doubt not, you will think candidly of their dejected State; and beg you would revolve in your Minds, the Ideas you entertain of *Liberty*, and Proteſtations you daily make againſt *Slavery*; and then, I am poſitive, you muſt give your Voice for *freeing* them, without you act in Oppoſition to your own Sentiments, a Character unbecoming your Stations.

Theſe were his Words:—void of deluſive Art,
I felt them; for he ſpoke them from his Heart.

HUME.

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